

The People.

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1898.

Address Delivered by Daniel De Leon in the City Hall of New Bedford, Mass., February 11, 1898.

(From a stenographic report.)

Working men and working women of New Bedford; ye striking textile workers; and all of you others, who, though now on strike, have been on strike more than this, and will be on strike some other time—

It has been the habit in this country and in England that, when a strike is on, "stars" in the Labor Movement are invited to appear on the scene, and entertain the strikers; entertain them and keep them in good spirit with rosy promises and prophesies, funny anecdotes, bombastic recitations in prose and poetry; stuff them full of rhetoric and wind,—very much in the style that some Generals do, who, by means of bad whiskey, seek to keep up the courage of their soldiers whom they are otherwise unable to beguile. Such has been the habit in the past; to a great extent it continues to be the habit in the present; it was so during the late miners' strike; it has been so to some extent here in New Bedford; and it is so everywhere, to the extent that ignorance of the Social Question predominates. To the extent, however, that Socialism gets a footing among the working class such false and puerile tactics are thrown aside. The Socialist workingmen of New Bedford, on whose invitation I am here; all those of us who are members of that class-conscious revolutionary international organization of the working class, that throughout the world stands out to-day as the leading and most promising feature of the age—all such would consider it a crime on the part of the men, whom our organization sends forth to preach the Gospel of Labor, if they were to spend their platform time in "ticking" the workers. Our organization sends us out to teach the workers, to enlighten them on the great issue before them, and the great historic drama in which most of them are still unconscious actors. Some of you, accustomed to a different diet may find my speech dry; if there be any such here, let him leave; he has not yet graduated from that primary school reared by Capitalism in which the question of wages is forced upon the workers as a serious question, and they are taught that it demands serious thought to grapple with, and solve it. If, however, you have graduated from that primary department, and have come here with the requisite earnestness, then you will not leave this hall without having, so to speak, caught hold of the cable of the Labor Movement; then the last strike of this sort has been seen in New Bedford; then, the strikes that may follow will be as different from this as toddling infancy is from vigorous manhood; then you will have entered upon that safe and sure path along which, not, as heretofore, eternal disaster will mark your tracks, but New Bedford, Massachusetts and the nation herself will successively fall into your hands, with freedom as the crowning fruit of your efforts. (Applause.)

Three years ago I was in your midst during another strike. The superficial observer who looks back to your attitude during that strike, who looks back to your attitude during the strikes that preceded that one, who now turns his eyes to your attitude in the present strike, and who discovers substantially no difference between your attitude now and then might say, "Why, it is a waste of time to speak to such men; they learn nothing from experience; they will eternally fight the same hopeless battle; the battle to establish 'safe relations' with the capitalist class, with the same hopeless weapon: the 'pure and simple organization of labor'." But the Socialist does not take that view. There is one thing about your conduct that entitles and entitles you to the warm sympathy of the Socialist, and that is that, despite your persistent errors in fundamental principles, in aims and methods, despite the illusions that you are chasing after, despite the increasing poverty and cumulating failures that press upon you, despite all that you deserve manhood enough not to submit to oppression, but rise in the rebellion that is implied in a strike. The attitude of workingmen engaged in a bona fide strike is an inspiring one. It is an earnest that slavery will not prevail. The slave alone who will not rise against his master, who will weekly lead his back to the lash and turn his cheek to him who plucks his beard—that slave alone is hopeless. But the slave, who, as you of New Bedford, perceive, despite failures and poverty, in rebellion, there is always hope for. This is the reason I have considered it worth my while to leave my home and interrupt my work in New York, and come here, and spend a few days with you. I ask my hopes wholly and build entirely upon this sentiment of rebellion within you.

WHERE DO WAGES COME, AND WHERE THEY GO?

What you now stand in need of, ay, more than of bread, is the knowledge of a few elemental principles of political economy and of sociology. Be not frightened at the words. It is only the capitalist professors who try to make them as difficult of understanding that they never mention them is expected to throw the workingman into a palpitation of the heart. The subjects are easy of understanding.

The first point that a workingman should be clear upon is this: What is the source of the wages he receives? What is the source of the profits his employer lives on? The following dialogue is not uncommon:

Workingman—"Do I understand you rightly, that you Socialists want to abolish the capitalist class?"

Socialist—"That is what we are

eat. They had to get up early, and go out, and stoop down and pick up the manna, and put it in baskets and take it to their tents and eat it. With the appearance of the manna on earth the miracle ended. But the miracles that happen in this capitalist system of production are so wonderful that those recorded in the Bible don't hold a candle to them. The Jews had to do some work, but I, stock-holding capitalist, need do no work a tall. I can turn night into day, and day into night. I can lie flat on my back all day and all night; and every three months my manna comes down to me in the shape of dividends. Where does it come from? What does that dividend represent?

In the factory of which my broker bought stock, workmen, thousands of them, were at work; they have woven cloth that has been put upon the market of the value of \$7,000; out of the \$7,000 that cloth is worth my wage workers receive \$2,000 in wages, and I receive the \$1,000 as profits or dividends. Did I, who never put my foot inside of the mill, did I, who never put my foot inside of New Bedford; did I, who don't know how a loom looks; did I, who contributed nothing whatever toward the weaving of that cloth; did I do any work whatever toward producing those \$5,000 that came to me? No man, with brains in his head instead of sawdust, can deny that those \$7,000 are exclusively the product of the wage workers in that mill. That out of the wealth thus produced by them alone, they get \$2,000 in wages, and I, who did nothing at all; I get the \$5,000. The wages these workers receive represent wealth that they have themselves produced; the profits that the capitalist pockets represent wealth that the wage workers produced, and that the capitalists, does what?—let us call things by their names—that the capitalist steals from them.

THE STOCK CORPORATION.

You may ask, But is that the rule, is not that illustration an exception?—Yes; it is the rule; the exception is the other thing. The leading industries of the United States are to-day stock concerns, and thither will all others worth mentioning move. An increasing volume of capital in money is held in stocks and shares. The individual capitalist holds stock in a score of concerns in different trades, located in different concerns, too many and too varied for him even to attempt to run. By virtue of his stock, he draws his income from them; which is the same as saying that he lives on what the workingmen produce but are robbed of. Nor is the case at all essentially different with the concerns that have not yet developed into stock corporations.

DIRECTORS.

Again, you may ask, The conclusion that what such stock-holders live on is stolen wealth because they evidently perform no manner of work is irrefutable, but are all stock-holders equally idle and superfluous; are there not some who do perform some work; are there not "Directors"?—There are "Directors", but these gentlemen bear a title much like those "Generals," and "Majors" and "Colonels" who now go about, and whose generalship, majorship and colonelship consisted in securing substitutes during the war. (Applause.) These "Directors" are simply the largest stock-holders, which is the same as to say that they are the largest sponges; their directorship consists only in directing conspiracies against rival "Directors," in bribing Legislatures, Executives and Judiciaries, in picking out and hiring men out of your midst to serve as bell-wethers, that will lead you, like cattle, to the capitalist shambles, and tickle you into contentment and hopefulness while you are being fleeced. The Court decisions removing responsibility from the "Directors" are numerous and increasing; each such decision establishes, from the capitalist Government's own mouth, the idleness and superfluousness of the capitalist class. These "Directors," and the capitalist class in general, may perform some "work," but that "work" is not of a sort that directly or indirectly aids production,—no more than the intense mental strain and activity of the "work" done by the pick-pocket is directly or indirectly productive. (Applause.)

ORIGINAL ACCUMULATION.

Finally, you may ask, No doubt the stock-holder does no work, and hence lives on the wealth we produce; no doubt these "Directors" have a title that only emphasizes their idleness by a swindle, and consequently, neither they are other than sponges on the working class; but did not your own illustration start with the supposition that the capitalist in question had \$100,000, is not his original capital entitled to some return?—This question opens an important one; and now I shall, as I promised you, take you into my confidence; I shall raise the curtain which I pulled down before the question. Where did I get it? I shall now let you pry into my secret.

Whence does this original capital, or "original accumulation," come? Does it grow on the capitalist like hair on his face, or nails on his fingers and toes? Does he secrete it as he secretes sweat from his body? Let me take one illustration of many.

Before our present Governor, the Governor of New York was Levi Parsons Morton. The gentleman must be known to all of you. Besides having been Governor of the Empire State, he was once Vice-President of the Nation, and also at one time our Minister to France. Mr. Morton is a leading "gentleman"; he wears the best of broadcloth; his shirt-bosom is of spotless white; his nails are trimmed by manicurists; he uses the élite language; he has front-pews in a number of churches; he is a pattern of morality, law and order; and he is a multi-millionaire capitalist. How did he get his start millionaire-ward? Mr. Morton, being a Republican, I shall refer you to a Republican journal, the New York "Tribune," for the answer to this interesting question. The "Tribune" of

the day after Mr. Morton's nomination for Governor in 1894 gave his biography. There we are informed that Mr. Morton was born in New Hampshire of poor parents; he was industrious, he was clever, he was pushing, and he settled, a poor young man, in New York city, where, in 1860, mark the date, he started a clothing establishment; then, in rapid succession, we are informed that he failed, and—STARTED A HANK! (Loud laughter and applause). A man may start almost any kind of a shop without a cent. If the landlord, give him credit for the rent, and the brewer, the shoe manufacturer, the cigar manufacturer, etc., etc., give you credit for the truck, you may start a saloon, a shoe shop, a cigar shop, etc., etc., without any cash, do business and pay off your debt with the proceeds of your sales. But there is ONE shop that you can not start in that way. That shop is the banking shop. For that you must have cash on hand. You can no more shave notes without money than you can shave whiskers without razors. Now, then, the man who just previously stood up before a notary public and swore "So help him, God," he had no money to pay his creditors, immediately after, without having in the meantime married an heiress, has money enough to start a bank on! Where did he get it? (Applause.)

Read the biography of any of our founders of capitalist concerns by the torch-light of this biography, and you will find them all to be essentially the same, or suggestively silent upon the doings of our man during the period that he gathers his "original accumulation." You will find that "original capital" to be the child of fraudulent failures and fires, of high-handed crime of some sort or other, or of the sneaking crime of appropriating trust funds, etc. With such "original capital,"—gotten by dint of such "cleverness," "push" and "industry"—as a weapon, the "original" capitalist proceeds to fleece the working class that has been less "industrious," "pushing" and "clever" than he. If he consumes all his fleecings, his capital remains of its original size in his hands, unless some other gentleman of the road, gifted with greater "industry," "push" and "cleverness" than he, comes around and relieves him of it; if he consumes not the whole of his fleecings, his capital moves upward million-ward.

The case is proved: Labor alone produces all wealth. Wages are that part of Labor's own product that the workingman is allowed to keep; profits are the present and running stealings perpetrated by the capitalist upon the workingman from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year; capital is the accumulated past stealings of the capitalist—carried upon his "original accumulation." (Long applause.)

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY.

Let us take a condensed page of the country's history. For the sake of plainness, and forced to it by the exigency of condensation, I shall assume small figures. Place yourselves back a sufficient number of years with ten men competing weaving concerns in the community. How the individual tea owners came by the "original accumulations" that enabled them to start as capitalists you now know. (Laughter.)

Say that each of the ten capitalists employs ten men; that each man receives \$2 a day, and that the product of each of the ten sets of men in each of the ten establishments is worth \$10 a day. You now also know that it is out of these \$10 worth of wealth, produced by the men, that each of the ten competing capitalists takes the \$20 that he pays the ten men in wages, and that of that same \$10 worth of wealth he takes the \$20 that he pockets as profits. Each of these ten capitalists makes, accordingly, \$120 a week.

This amount of profits, one should think, should satisfy our ten capitalists. It is a goodly sum to pocket without work. Indeed, it may satisfy some, say most of them. But if for any of many reasons it does not satisfy any one of them, the whole string of them is set in motion. "Individuality" is a deity at whose shrine the capitalist worships, or affects to worship. In point of fact, capitalism robs of individuality, not only the working class, but capitalists themselves. The action of any one of the lot compels action by all; like a row of bricks, the dropping of one makes all the others drop successively. Let us take No. 1. He is not satisfied with \$120 a week. Of the many reasons he may have for that, let's take this: He has a little daughter; eventually, she will be of marriageable age; whom is he planning to marry her to? Before the public, particularly before the workers, he will declaim on the "sovereignty" of our citizens, and declare the country is stocked with nothing but "peers." In his heart, though, he feels otherwise. He looks even upon his fellow capitalists as plebeians; he aspires at a Prince, a Duke, or at least a Count for a son-in-law; and, in visions, truly reflecting the vulgarity of his mind, he beholds himself the grandfather of Prince, Duke or Count grandsons. To realize this dream he must have money; Princes, etc., are expensive luxuries. His present income, \$120 a week, will not buy the luxury. He must have more. To his employees he will recommend reliance on heaven; he himself knows that if he wants more money it will not come from heaven but must come from the sweat of his employees' brow. As all the wealth produced in his shop is \$10 a day, he knows that, if he increases his share of \$20 to \$30, there will be only \$10 left for wages. He tries this. He announces a wage reduction of 50 per cent. His men spontaneously draw themselves together and refuse to work; they go on strike. What is the situation?

In those days it needed skill, acquired by long training, to do the work; those who have been corner-loafers out of work, but not weavers; possibly at some great distance there may have been weavers actually obtainable, but in those days there was neither telegraph nor railroad to communicate with them; finally, the nine competitors of No. 1, having no strike on hand, continued to produce, and thus threatened to crowd No. 1 out of the market. Thus circumstanced, No. 1 caves in. He withdraws his order of wage reduction. "Come in," he says to his striking workmen, "let's make up; Labor and Capital are brothers; the most loving of brothers sometimes fall out; we have had such a falling out; it was a slip; you have organized yourselves in a union with a \$2 a day wage scale; I shall never fight the union; I love it, come back to work." And the men did.

Thus ended that first strike. The victory won by the men made many of them feel bold. At their first next meeting they argued: "The employer wanted to reduce our wages and got left; why may not we take the hint and reduce his profits by demanding higher wages? We licked him in his attempt to lower our wages, why should we not lick him in an attempt to resist our demand for more pay?" But the labor movement is democratic. No one man can run things. At that union meeting the motion to demand higher pay is made by one member, another must second it; amendments and amendments to the amendments are put with the requisite seconds; debate follows;

tongued politician can vault over it; no capitalist professor or official statistician can argue it away; no capitalist parson can veil it; no labor fakir can straddle it; no "reform" architect can bridge it over. It crops up in all manner of ways, like in this strike, in ways that disconcert all the plans and all the schemes of those who would deny or ignore it. It is a struggle that will not down, and must be ended only by either the total subjugation of the Working Class, or the abolition of the Capitalist Class. (Loud applause.)

Thus you perceive that the theory on which your "pure and simple" trade organizations are grounded, and on which you went into this strike, is false. There being no "common interests," but only HOSTILE INTERESTS, between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class, the battle you are waging to establish "safe relations" between the two is a hopeless one.

Put to the touchstone of these undeniable principles the theory upon which your "pure and simple" trade organizations are built, and you will find it to be false; examined by the light of these undeniable principles the road that your false theory makes you travel and the failures that have marked your career must strike you as its inevitable result. How are we to organize and proceed? you may ask. Before answering this question, let me take up another branch of the subject. Its presentation will sweep aside another series of illusions that beset the mind of the working class, and will, with what has been said, give us a sufficient sweep over the ground to lead us to the right answer.

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY.

Let us take a condensed page of the country's history. For the sake of plainness, and forced to it by the exigency of condensation, I shall assume small figures. Place yourselves back a sufficient number of years with ten men competing weaving concerns in the community. How the individual tea owners came by the "original accumulations" that enabled them to start as capitalists you now know. (Laughter.)

The second point, on which it is ab-

olutely necessary that you be clear, is the nature of your relation, as working people, to the capitalist in this capitalist system of production. This point is an inevitable consequence of the first.

You have seen that the wages you live on and the profits the capitalist riots in are the two parts into which is divided the wealth that you produce. The workingman wants a larger and larger share, so does the capitalist. A thing can not be divided into two shares so as to increase the share of each. If the workingman produces, say, \$4 worth of wealth a day, and the capitalist keeps 2, there are only 2 left for the workingman; if the capitalist keeps 3, there is only 1 left for the workingman; if the capitalist keeps 3½, there is only ½ left for the workingman. Inversely, if the workingman pushes up his share from ½ to 1, there are only 3 left to the capitalist; if the workingman secures 2, there are only 2 left for the workingman; if the capitalist keeps 3, there is only 1 left for the workingman; if the capitalist keeps 3½, there is only ½ left for the workingman. The capitalist will have to reduce to 2; if the workingman push still onward and keep 3, the capitalist will have to put up with 1; and if the workingman makes up his mind to enjoy all that he produces, and keep all the

4. THE CAPITALIST WILL HAVE TO GO TO WORK. (Long applause.)

These plain figures upset the theory about the Workingman and the Capitalist being brothers. Capital, meaning the Capitalist Class and Labor, have been portrayed by capitalist illustrators as Chang and Eng; this, I remember, was done notably by "Harper's Weekly," the property of one of the precious "Seeley Diners" (laughter); you remember that "dinner." (Laughter.) The Siamese Twins were held together by a piece of flesh. Wherever Chang went Eng was sure to go; if Chang was happy Eng's pulse throbbed harder; if Chang caught cold Eng sneezed in chorus with him; when Chang died Eng followed suit within five minutes. Do we find that to be the relation of the workingman and the capitalist? Do we find that the fatter the capitalist, the fatter also grow the workingmen? Is not your experience rather that the wealthier the capitalist, the poorer are the workingmen? That the more magnificent and prouder the residences of the capitalist, the dingier and humbler become those of the workingmen; that the happier the life of the capitalist's wife, the greater the opportunities of his children for enjoyment and education, the heavier becomes the cross borne by the workingmen's wives, while their children are crowded more and more from the schools and deprived of the pleasures of childhood? Is that your experience, or is it not? (Voices all over the hall: "It is!" and applause.)

The pregnant point that underlies these pregnant facts is that, between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class, there is an irrepressible conflict, a class struggle for life. No gib

points of order are raised, ruled on, appealed from and settled;—in the meantime it grows late, the men must be at work early the next morning, the hour to adjourn arrives, and the whole matter is left pending. Thus much for the men.

Now for the employer. He locks himself up in his closet. With clenched fists and scowl on brow, he gnashes his teeth at the victory of his "brother" Labor, its union and its union regulations. And he ponders. More money he must have and is determined to have. This resolution is arrived at with the swiftness and directness which capitalists are able to. Differently from his men, he is not many, but one. He makes the motion, seconds it himself, puts it, and carries it unanimously. More profits he must have and is determined to have. He SHALL have. But how? Aid comes to him through the mail. The letter-carrier brings him a circular from a machine shop. Such circulars are frequent even to-day. It reads like this: "Mr. No. 1, you are employing ten men; I have in my machine shop a beautiful machine with which you can produce, with 5 men, twice as much as now with 10; this machine does not chew tobacco; it does not smoke; some of these circulars are cruel and add: this machine has no wife who gets sick and keeps it home to attend to her; it has no children who die, and whom to bury it must stay away from work; it never goes on strike; it works and grumbles not; come and see it."

INVENTION.

Right here let me lock a switch at which not a few people are apt to switch off and be banked. Some may think: "Well, at least that machine capitalist is entitled to his profits; he surely is an inventor." A grave error. Look into the history of our inventors, and you will see that those who really profited by their genius are so few that you can count them on the fingers of your hands, and have fingers to spare. The capitalists either take advantage of the inventor's stress and buy his invention for a song; the inventor believes he can make his haul with his next invention; but before that is perfected, he is as poor as before, and the same advantage is again taken of him; until finally the brown of his brains being exhausted, he sinks into a pauper's grave, leaving the fruit of his genius to private capitalists to grow rich on; or the capitalist simply steals the invention and gets his courts to decide against the inventor. From Ely Whitney down, that is the treatment the inventor, as a rule, receives from the capitalist class.

Such a case, illustrative of the whole situation, happened recently. The Bonack Machine Co. discovered that its employees made numerous inventions, and it decided to appropriate them wholesale. To this end, it locked out its men, and demanded of all applicants for work that they sign a contract whereby, in "consideration of employment" they assign to the Company all their rights in whatever invention they may make during the term of their employment. One of these employees, who had signed such a contract, informed the Company one day that he thought he could invent a machine by which cigarettes could be held closed by crimping at the ends, instead of pasting. This was a valuable idea; and he was told to go ahead. For six months he worked at this invention and perfected it; and, having during all that time, received not a cent in wages or otherwise from the Company, he patented his invention himself. The Company immediately brought suit against him in the Federal Courts, claiming that the invention was its property; and—THE FEDERAL COURT DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE COMPANY. TH

the street—What happened there? The "individuality" of No. 2 yielded to the pressure of capitalist development. The purchase of the machine by No. 1 enabled him to produce so much more plentifully and cheaply; if No. 2 did not do likewise, he would be crowded out of the market by No. 1; No. 2, accordingly, also invested in a machine, with the result that 2 of his men are also thrown out.

These 10 unemployed proceed to No. 3, hoping for better luck there. But what sight is that meets their astonished eyes? Not 5 men, as walked out of Nos. 1 and 2, but all No. 3's 10 have landed on the street; and, what is more surprising yet to them, No. 3 himself is on the street, now reduced to the condition of a workingman along with his former employees. What is it that happened there? In this instance the "individuality" of No. 3 was crushed by capitalist development. The same reason that drove No. 2 to procure the machine, rendered the machine indispensable to No. 3. But having, differently from his competitors Nos. 1 and 2, spent all his savings from the workingmen instead of saving up some, he is now unable to make the purchase; is, consequently, unable to produce as cheaply as they; is, consequently, driven into bankruptcy, and lands in the class of the proletariat, whose ranks are thus increased.

The now 21 unemployed proceed in their hunt for work, and make the round of the other mills. The previous experiences are repeated. Not only are there no jobs to be had, but everywhere workers are thrown out, if the employer got the machine, and if he did not, workers with their former employers, now ruined, join the army of the unemployed.

What happened in that industry happened in all others. Thus the ranks of the capitalist class are thinned out, and the class is made more powerful, while the ranks of the working class are swelled, and the class is made weaker. This is the process that explains how, on the one hand, your New Bedford mills become the property of ever fewer men; how, according to the census of their aggregate capital runs up to over \$14,000,000; how, despite "bad times," their profits run up to upwards of \$1,300,000; how, on the other hand, your position becomes steadily more precarious.

No. 1's men return to where they started from. Scabbing they will not. Uninformed upon the mechanism of capitalism, they know not what struck them; and they expect "better times." Just as so many equally uninformed workingmen are expecting to-day, in the meantime, thinking thereby to hasten the advent of the good times. No. 1's men turn out the Republican party and turn in the Democratic, turn out the Democratic and turn in the Republican,—just as our mislead workingmen are now doing (Applause), not understanding that, whether they put in or out Republicans or Democrats, Protectionists or Free traders, Goldbugs or Silverbugs, they are every time putting in the capitalist platform, upholding the social principle that throws them out of work or reduces their wages (Long applause).

But endurance has its limits. The Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad for the Indiana Division, speaking, of course, from the capitalist standpoint, recently said: "Many solutions are being offered for the labor question; but there is just one and no more. It is this: Lay a silver dollar on the shelf, and at the end of a year you have a silver dollar left; lay a workingman on the shelf, and at the end of a month you have a skeleton left. (Loud applause.) This," said he, "is the solution of the labor problem." In short, starve out the workers. No. 1's men finally reached that point. Finally that happens that few if any can resist: A man may stand starvation, and resist the sight of starving wife and children; but if he has not wherewithal to buy medicine to save the life of a sick wife or child, all control is lost over him. On the heels of starvation, sickness follows, and No. 1's men throw to the wind all union principles; they are now ready to do anything to save their dear ones. Cap in hand, they appear before No. 1, the starch taken clean out of them during the period they "lay on the shelf." They ask for work; they themselves offer to work for \$1 a day. And No. 1, the brother of labor, who but recently expressed devotion to the union, what of him? His eyes sparkle at "seeing again" the men he had thrown out; at their offer to work for less than the men now employed; his chest expands, and, grabbing them by the hand in a delirium of patriotic ecstasy, he says: "Welcome, my noble American citizens! (Applause); I am proud to see you ready to work and earn an honest penny for your dear wives and darling children! (Applause); I am delighted to notice that you are not like so many others, too lazy to work! (Applause); let the American eagle scream in honor of your emancipation from the slavery of a rascally union! (Long applause); let the American eagle wag his tail an extra wag in honor of your freedom from a dictatorial walking delegate! (Long applause); you are my long-lost brothers! (Laughter and long applause); go in my \$1-a-day brothers!" and he throws his former \$2-a-day brothers' heads over head upon the side-walk. (Long and prolonged applause).

When the late \$2-a-day men have recovered from their surprise, they determine on war. But what sort of war? Watch them closely, and you may detect many a feature of your own in that mirror. "Have we not struck?" argue they, "and beaten this employer once before?" If we strike again, we shall again beat him." But the conditions have wholly changed.

In the first place, there were no unemployed skilled workers during that first strike; now there are; plenty of them, dumped upon the country, not out of the steerage of vessels from Europe, but by the native-born machine.

In the second place, that very machine has to such an extent eliminated skill that, while formerly only the unemployed in a certain trade could endanger the jobs of those at work in that trade, now the unemployed of all trades (virtually the whole army of the unemployed) bear down upon the employed in each; we know of quondam shoemakers taking the jobs of hatmakers; quondam batters taking the jobs of weavers; quondam weavers taking the jobs of cigarmakers; quondam ci-

garmakers taking the jobs of "machinists;" quondam farm-hands taking the jobs of factory hands, etc., etc.; so easy has it become to learn what is now needed to be known of a trade.

In the third place, telegraph and railroads have made all of the unemployed easily accessible to the employer.

Finally, differently from former days, the competitors have to a great extent consolidated; here in New Bedford, for instance, the false appearance of competition between the mill owners is punctuated by the fact that to a great extent seemingly "Independent" mills are owned by one family, as is the case with the Pierce family.

Not, as at the first strike, with their flanks protected, but now wholly exposed through the existence of a vast army of hungry unemployed; not, as before, facing a divided enemy, but now faced by a consolidated mass of capitalist concerns; how different is not the situation of the strikers! The changed conditions brought about changed results: Instead of VICTORY, there was DEFEAT (Applause); and we have had a long series of them. Either hunger drove the men back to work; or the unemployed took their places; or, if the capitalist was in a hurry, he fetched in the help of the strong arm of the government; now HIS GOVERNMENT.

PRINCIPLES OF SOUND ORGANIZATION.

We now have a sufficient survey of the field to enable us to answer the question, How shall we organize so as not to fight the same old hopeless battle?

Proceeding from the knowledge that labor alone produces all wealth; that less and less of this wealth comes to the working class; and more and more of it is plundered by the idle class or capitalist; that this is the result of the working class being stripped of the tool (machine), without which it can not earn a living; and, finally, that the machine or tool has reached such a state of development that it can no longer be operated by the individual but needs the collective effort of many—proceeding from this knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent class-conscious workingmen must be the overthrow of the system of private ownership in the tools of production because that system keeps them in wage slavery.

Proceeding from the further knowledge of the use made of the Government by the capitalist class, and of the necessity that class is under to own the Government, so as to enable it to uphold and prop up the capitalist system; proceeding from that knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent class-conscious workingmen must be to bring the Government under the control of their own class by joining and electing the American wing of the International Socialist party—the Socialist Labor party of America, and thus establish the Socialist Co-operative Republic. (Applause)

But in the meantime, while moving toward that ideal, though necessary, goal, what to do? The thing can not be accomplished in a day, nor does election come around every twenty-four hours. Is there nothing that we can do for ourselves between election and election?

Yes; plenty.

When crowded in argument, to the wall by us New Trade Unionists, by us of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, your present, or old and "pure-and-simple" organizations, yield the point of ultimate aims; they grant the ultimate necessity of establishing Socialism; but they claim "the times are not yet ripe" for that; and, not yet being ripe, they lay emphasis upon the claim that the "pure and simple" union does the workers some good NOW by getting something NOW from the employers and from the capitalist parties. We are not "practical" they tell us; they are, Let us test this theory on the spot. Here in New Bedford there is not yet a single New Trade Unionist organization in existence. The "pure and simple" trade union has had the field all to itself. All of you, whose wages are NOW higher than they were five years ago, kindly raise a hand. (No hand is raised.) All of you whose wages are now lower than five years ago, please raise a hand. (The hands of the large audience go up.) The proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Not only does "pure and simpledom" shut off your hope of emancipation by affecting to think such a state of things is unreachable now, but in the meantime and RIGHT NOW, the "good" it does to you, the "something" it secures for you from the employers and from the capitalists is lower wages. (Prolonged applause.) That is what their "practicalness" amounts to in point of fact. Presently I shall show you that they prove "practical" only to the labor fakirs who run them, and whom they pull up with. No, no; years ago, before capitalism had reached its present development, a trade organization of labor could and did afford protection to the workers, even if, as the "pure and simple" union, it was wholly in the dark on the issue. THAT TIME IS NO MORE.

The New Trade Unionist knows that no one or two, or even half a dozen elections will place in the hands of the working class the Government of the land; and New Trade Unionism, not only wishes to do something now for the workers, but it knows that the thing can be done, and how to do it.

"Pure and Simple" or British trade unionism has done a double mischief to the workers: Besides leaving them in their present pitiable plight, it has caused many to fly off the handle and lose all trust in the power of trade organization. The best of these, those who have not become pessimistic and have not wholly been demoralized, see nothing to be done but voting right on election day—casting their vote straight for the S. L. P. This is a serious error, thus giving over all participation in the industrial movement, they wholly disengage themselves from the class struggle that is going on every day; and by putting off their whole activity to a single day in the year—election day—they become floaters in the air. I know many such. Without exception they are dreamy and flighty and unbalanced in their methods.

The utter impotence of "pure and simple" unionism to-day is born of causes that may be divided under two main heads.

One is the contempt in which the capitalist and ruling class holds the working people. In 1886, when instinct was, unconsciously to myself, leading me to look into the social problem, when yet it was to me a confused and blurred interrogation mark, I associated wholly with capitalists. Expressions of

contempt for the workers was common. One day I asked a set of them why they treated their men so hard, and had so poor an opinion of them. "They are ignorant, stupid and corrupt," was the answer, almost in chorus.

"What makes you think so?" I asked. "Have you met them all?"

"No," was the reply, "we have not met them all individually, but we have had to deal with their leaders, and they are ignorant, stupid and corrupt. Surely these leaders must be the best among them, or they would not choose them."

Now, let me illustrate. I understand that two days ago, in this city, Mr. Gompers went off at a tangent and shot off his mouth about me. What he said was too ridiculous for me to answer. You will have noticed that he simply gave what he wishes you to consider as his opinion; he furnished you no facts from which he drew it, so that you could judge for yourselves. He expected you to take him on faith. I shall not insult you by treating you likewise. Here are the facts on which my conclusion is based:

In the State of New York we have a labor law forbidding the working of railroad men more than ten hours. The railroad companies disregarded the law; in Buffalo, the switchmen struck in 1892 to enforce the law; thereupon the Democratic Governor, Mr. Flower, who had himself signed the law, sent the whole militia of the State into Buffalo to help the railroad capitalists break the law, incidentally to commit assault and battery with intent to kill, as they actually did, upon the workingmen. Among our State Senators is one Jacob Cantor. This gentleman hastened to applaud Gov. Flower's brutal violation of his oath of office to uphold the constitution and the laws. Cantor applauded the act as a patriotic one in the defense of "Law and Order." At a subsequent campaign, this Cantor being a candidate for re-election, the New York "Daily News," a capitalist paper of Cantor's political complexion, published an autograph letter addressed to him and intended to be an endorsement of him by Labor. The letter contained this passage among others: "If any one says you are not a friend of Labor, he says what is not true." By whom was this letter written and by whom signed?—by Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the American Federation of Labor." (Hisses.)

Whom are you hissing, Gompers or me? (Many voices: "Gompers") followed by prolonged applause.)

Do you imagine that the consideration for that letter was merely the "love and affection" of Senator Cantor? (Laughter.)

Again: The Republican party, likewise the Democratic, is a party of the capitalist class; every man who is posted knows that the conduct of its Presidents, Governors, Judges, Congresses and Legislatures can leave no doubt upon the subject. Likewise the free coinage of silver, or Populist party, was, while it lived, well known to be a party of capital; the conduct of its rascals, the silver mine barons, who skin and then shoot down their miners, leaves no doubt upon that subject. But the two were deadly opposed; one wanted Gold, the other Silver. Notwithstanding these facts, a "labor leader" in New York city appeared at a recent campaign standing, not upon the Republican capitalist party platform, only, not upon the Free-Silver capitalist party platform only, but—ON BOTH: he performed the acrobatic feat of being simultaneously for Gold and against Silver, for Silver and against Gold. Who was that "labor leader"?—Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the American Federation of Labor."

Again: In Washington there is a son of a certain labor leader with a Government job. He is truly "non-partisan." Democrats may go and Republicans may come, Republicans may go and Democrats may come, but he goeth not; the Democratic and the Republican capitalists may fight like cats and dogs, but on one thing they fraternize like cooing doves, to wit, to keep that son of a labor leader in office. Who is the father of that son?—Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the A. F. of L."

Again: You have here a "labor leader," named Ross (Applause in several parts of the hall)—Unhappy men! Unhappy men! As well might you applaud the name of your executioner. When I was here about three years ago I met him. He was all aglow with the project of a bill that he was going to see through your Legislature, of which he was and is now a member. It was the anti-fines bill; that thought he, was going to put an end to an infamous practice of the mill owners. I argued with him that it does not matter what the law is; the all important thing was, which is the class charged with enforcing it. So long as the capitalist class held the Government, all such labor laws as he was straining for were a snare and a delusion. What I said seemed to be Greek to him. He went ahead and the bill passed. And what happened? You continued to be fined after as before; and when one of you sought to enforce the law, was he not arrested and imprisoned? (Voices: "That's so.") And when another brought the law-breaking mill owner, who continued to fine him, into court, did not the capitalist court decide in favor of the capitalist? (Voices: "That's so"), and thus virtually annulled the law? And where was Mr. Ross all this time? In the Massachusetts Legislature. Do you imagine that his ignorance of what a capitalist Government means, and of what its "labor laws" amount to, did not throw its shadow upon and color you in the capitalist's estimation? Do you, furthermore, imagine that his sitting there in that Legislature, a member of the majority party at that, and never once demanding the prompt impeachment of the Court that rendered null that very law that he had worked to pass?—do you imagine that while he plays such a complaisant rôle he is a traitor to the working class?

No need of further illustrations. The ignorance, stupidity and corruption of the "pure and simple" labor leaders is such that the capitalist class despises you. The first prerequisite for success in a struggle is the respect of the enemy. (Applause.)

The other main cause of the present impotence of "pure and simple" unionism is that, through its ignoring the existing class distinctions, and its ignoring the close connection there is between wages and politics, it splits up at the ballot box among the parties of capital, and thus unites in upholding the system of capitalist exploitation. Look at the recent miners' strike; the men are shot down and the strike was lost; this happened in the very midst of a

political campaign; and these miners, who could at any election capture the Government, or at least, by polling a big vote against capitalism announce their advance towards freedom, are seen to turn right around and vote back into power the very class that had just trampled upon them. What prospect is there, in sight of such conduct, of the capitalists becoming gentler? or of the union gaining for the men any thing NOW except more wage reductions, enforced by bullets? None! The prospect of the miners and other workers doing the same thing over again, a prospect that is made all the surer if they allow themselves to be further lead by the labor fakirs whom the capitalists keep in pay, renders sure that capitalist outrages will be repeated and further capitalist encroachments will follow. Otherwise were it if the union, identifying politics and wages, voted against capitalism; if it struck at the ballot box against the wage system with the same solidarity that it demands for the strike in the shop. Protected once a year by the guns of an increasing class-conscious party of labor, the union could be a valuable fortification behind which to conduct the daily class struggle in the shops. The increasing Socialist Labor party vote alone would not quite give that temporary protection in the shop that such an increasing vote would afford if, in the shop also, the workers are intelligently organized, and honestly, because intelligently, lead. Without organization in the shop, the capitalist could outrage at least individuals. Shop organization alone, unbuckled by that political force that threatens the capitalist class with extinction, the working class being the overwhelming majority, leaves the workers wholly unprotected. But the shop organization that combines in its warfare the annually recurring class-conscious ballot, can stem capitalist encroachment from day to day. The trade organization is impotent if built and conducted upon the impotent lines of ignorance and corruption. The trade organization is NOT impotent if built and conducted upon the lines of knowledge and honesty; if it understands the issue and steps into the arena fully equipped, not with the shield of the trade union only, but also with the sword of the Socialist ballot.

The essential principles of sound organization are, accordingly, these: 1st.—A trade organization must be clear upon the fact that, not until it has overthrown the capitalist system of private ownership in the machinery of production, and made this the joint property of the people, thereby compelling everyone to work if he wants to live, is it at all possible for the workers to be safe. (Applause.)

Who are you hissing, Gompers or me? (Many voices: "Gompers") followed by prolonged applause.)

Do you imagine that the consideration for that letter was merely the "love and affection" of Senator Cantor? (Laughter.)

Again: The Republican party, likewise the Democratic, is a party of the capitalist class; every man who is posted knows that the conduct of its Presidents, Governors, Judges, Congresses and Legislatures can leave no doubt upon the subject. Likewise the free coinage of silver, or Populist party, was, while it lived, well known to be a party of capital; the conduct of its rascals, the silver mine barons, who skin and then shoot down their miners, leaves no doubt upon that subject. But the two were deadly opposed; one wanted Gold, the other Silver. Notwithstanding these facts, a "labor leader" in New York city appeared at a recent campaign standing, not upon the Republican capitalist party platform, only, not upon the Free-Silver capitalist party platform only, but—ON BOTH: he performed the acrobatic feat of being simultaneously for Gold and against Silver, for Silver and against Gold. Who was that "labor leader"?—Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the American Federation of Labor."

2d.—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that it can not reach safety until it has wrenches the Government from the clutches of the capitalist class; and that it can not do that unless it votes, not for MEN but for PRINCIPLE, unless it votes into power its own class platform and programme: THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.

3d.—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that politics are not, like religion, a private concern, any more than the wages and the hours of a workingman are his private concern. For the same reason that his wages and hours are the concern of his class, so is his politics (Applause). Politics is not separable from wages. For the same reason that the organization of labor dictates wages, hours, etc., in the interest of the working class, for that same reason must it dictate politics also; and for the same reason that it executes the scab in the shop, it must execute the scab at the hustings. (Applause.)

THE WORK OF THE SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE.

Long did the Socialist Labor party and New Trade Unionists seek to deliver this important message to the broad masses of the American proletariat, the rank and file of our working class. But we could not reach, we could not get at them. Between us and them there stood a solid wall of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakirs. Like men groping in a dark room for an exit, we moved along that wall, bumping our heads, looking everwards for a door; we made the circuit and no passage was found. The wall was solid. This discovery once made, there was no way other than to batter a breach through that wall. With the battering ram of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance we effected a passage; the wall now crumbled; at last we stand face to face with the rank and file of the American proletariat (Long and prolonged applause); and we ARE DELIVERING OUR MESSAGE (Renewed Applause)—as you may judge from the howl that goes up from that fakirs' wall that we have broken through.

I shall not consider my time well spent with you if I see no fruit of my labors; if I leave not behind me in New Bedford Local Alliances of your trades organized in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. That will be my best contribution toward your strike, as they will serve as centers of enlightenment to strengthen you in your conflict, to the extent that it may now be possible.

In conclusion, my best advice to you for immediate action, is to step out boldly upon streets, as soon as you can; organize a雄伟的 parade of the strikers and of all the other working people in the town; and let the parade be headed by a banner bearing the announcement:

"We will fight you in this strike to the bitter end; your money bag may beat us now; but whether it does or not, that is not the end, it is only the beginning of the song; in November we will meet you again at Philippi, and the strike shall not end until, with the fall of the Socialist Labor party ballot, we shall have laid you low for all time!" (Loud applause.)

This is the message that it has been my agreeable privilege to deliver to you in the name of the Socialist Labor party and of the New Trade Unionists or Alliance men of the land. (Prolonged applause.)

Attention, New York.

Branch 13 (Women), S. L. P., of Section New York, together with the Women's Club for the Promotion of the Labor Press, has arranged a mass meeting in Grand Central Palace, Sunday, March 6, at 3 p. m., for the purpose of raising funds for the New Bedford strikers.

Come one, come all.

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GERMANY.

(Continued.)

In the previous three years Marx had matured all his plans and made every possible preparation for the final organization of that international movement of the proletariat which he had already attempted to set on foot in 1847, when he joined the Communist League at Brussels, and with Frederick Engels was delegated by that body to write the "Communist Manifesto." Upon the identical lines of this celebrated document Marx wrote the brief preamble to the rules of the International Association, setting forth its "raison d'être" as follows:

"Considering—that the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and therefore involves a class struggle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the instruments of labor, the sources of life, lies at the root of social misery, mental degradation, political dependence and servitude in every form;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and depending for its solution on the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

"That the present reawakening of the working classes in the most industrial countries of Europe, while it raises new hopes, gives solemn warning against a relapse into old errors and calls for a close connection of the now separate movements;

"For these reasons the International Workmen's Association has been founded. All its members shall recognize that Truth, Morality, Justice, must be the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, regardless of color, creed or nationality. They shall regard it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

Although theoretically resting on the same economic principles and having the same end in view, the Lassallian movement and the Marxist diverged materially in tactics. In the first place the former was purely national, the latter was essentially international. Of course, a national organization was also required and contemplated by the Marxists, and on the other hand the Lassallians had no thought of assigning any geographical limits to the development of Socialism; but the two processes of organization were practically the reverse of each other, and for reasons now sufficiently obvious the Marxist was the more scientific. Again, the followers of Marx had been taught to expect nothing, absolutely nothing, but from the complete triumph of the proletariat, through which the Social Revolution would at the proper time, and then at once, be achieved. Capitalism abolished and Socialism instituted; whereas Lassalle had believed, or at any rate professed, that a social transformation could be brought about by degrees, more or less slowly, more or less rapidly, according as the class-conscious proletariat would be able to assert itself as a political force in the direction of public affairs. The Marxist implied an uncompromising attitude under all circumstances, whereas the Lassallian, ever so aggressive in principle and so unyielding as to the final aim, left room for temporary compromises, that might prove dangerous to the integrity of the movement. Lassalle himself had applied to the feudal government of Prussia for a loan of one hundred million thalers (\$60,000,000), the interest upon which was to be set aside for the gradual extension of the scheme to all industries, including last of all agriculture. According to his own computation it would have taken two centuries to thus achieve peacefully the economic emancipation of the laboring class. Of his now well-known interviews with Bismarck—at the latter's request—concerning his plans, we need not speak here at length. Such intercourse might have proved harmless so long as the party to it on the side of the proletariat was a man of Lassalle's intellectual and moral standing, and the conceded nobility of his ambition. In some at least of these respects no man could take his place. Of the overbearing, jealous and impudent Bernhard Becker, who succeeded him for a year as president of the Society, it has been justly said that he was "the ass in the lion's skin." C. W. Tölke, who took the place of Becker in December, 1865, raised a storm of indignation among the Socialists by publicly disclosing his monarchic sympathies, and was compelled to resign after a few months of unsuccessful management. By this time the Lassallian leaders were generally suspected of political dealings repugnant to the spirit of the movement. Indeed, very soon after the death of Lassalle there was already a strong basis of fact for such suspicions. In his last days arrangements had been made for the publication of an organ of the Society, entitled "The Social Democrat," with Dr. J. B. von Schweitzer as its editor. The paper appeared on January 1, 1865. In its first issue Marx, Engels and Liebknecht were announced as contributors. But when in February of the same year Schweitzer published a leading article endorsing the policy of the "Bismarck ministry and professing a narrow Prussian jingoism, the three Internationalists withdrew their names by public declaration. From that time—and, as we shall see, for a number of years—the movement was divided; but as Internationalism appealed strongly to Socialism, many Lassallians, one by one, two by two, entered the ranks of the International, whose propaganda was conducted with great energy by Liebknecht, Vahlteich and other fearless, uncompromising agitators.

At that time a large number of the democratic political clubs originally constituted by the Progressists had seceded from their retrogressive progenitors and formed a "People's Party," whose chief strength was in Saxony and Southern Germany. The numerous workingmen's educational societies similarly fathered had likewise struck out independently and formed a federation, the national committee of which had its seat in Leipzig. Of this national committee August Bebel was a member. He was also the leader of the Leipzig organization of the People's Party. Liebknecht, who resided in the same town, and who, for the purpose of advancing his views, had become a member of the local educational society, succeeded in converting Bebel to International Socialism. Both together then converted the other members of the national committee; so that in a short time the whole organization was permeated with Socialist ideas.

In the meanwhile important political events had taken place. The battle of Sadowa had been fought, Austria lay prostrate at the feet of Prussia, and a North German Confederation had been formed, comprising all the German States north of the Main, which were to be represented according to population, in a Reichstag (or parliament) elected by universal suffrage. The first Reichstag was to be a constituent assembly of short duration, and elections for this body had to be held in the beginning of 1867. All this was the work of Bismarck, who, in granting universal suffrage, hoped to get the support of the working class against the Progressists. It has been alleged that he had an understanding with Schweitzer, and that the latter actually pledged to the government the support of the German Workingmen's Society. At any rate, when election day came, Bismarck stood as the government candidate in Barmer-Ehrenfeld against Schweitzer and a Progressist. A second ballot became necessary between Bismarck and the Progressist, and Schweitzer's vote was transferred to Bismarck, electing him. Thenceforth the suspicion clung to Schweitzer that he was an agent of the government, and although a few months later he was sufficiently popular in the German Workingmen's Society to be made its president, he was finally expelled from it in 1872.

At the election for the constituent assembly August Bebel was the only Socialist elected. He was running as the nominee of the Saxon People's Party in the Glauchau-Meernie district of Saxony. But a few months later, when elections were held for the first regular North German Reichstag, seven Socialists were returned. Three of them, Bebel, Liebknecht and Schrappe, were nominees of the Saxon People's party; two, including Schweitzer, belonged to the Lassallian faction, which had selected him as its president, and two belonged to another Lassallian faction, which had seceded from the German Workingmen's Society, and under the lead of an old friend of Lassalle's, Countess Hatzfeld, had formed an independent organization. The total vote cast for those various candidates was about 30,000.

The two campaigns of 1867 and the activity of the Socialist deputies within and without the Reichstag greatly strengthened the movement. In the Federation of Educational Societies the Socialist element had become so strong that its central committee, led by Bebel and Liebknecht, submitted to the General Assembly of that body, held in Nuremberg in September, 1868, a proposition to endorse the platform of the International. At this convention all the factions of the labor movement were represented. There were the Schultz-Delitzsch men, constituting the purely political wing of the People's party (of which the present People's party is the continuation); the Marxist wing of that party (Bebel-Liebknecht), and a small number of Lassallians. After a prolonged and heated discussion the International programme was endorsed by a large majority. The Schultz-Delitzsch minority withdrew, leaving in the hands of the most radical Socialist leaders the organization which they had created for the express purpose of keeping the workingmen out of Socialism. The Federation of Educational Societies had now practically become a branch of the International.

While thus at work capturing an entire organization, the Marxists did not relax their efforts to bring the Lassallians over to their views. Unity of action, provided it could be secured upon a basis of sound principle and honest tactics, was as much desired by them as it was desirable for the cause. They hoped to break down the pernicious influence of Schweitzer and then to effect an amalgamation. In March, 1869, Bebel and Liebknecht appeared before the convention of the German Workmen's Society, in session at Bremen. They argued that in giving itself a president this organization had disregarded a fundamental principle of Socialism, and that in vesting him with dictatorial powers it had exposed itself to the danger of corruption. Then they directly accused Schweitzer of being an agent of the government, and of having, as such, fostered in the organization over which he ruled by cunning and intrigue, a narrow spirit of Prussian patriotism, contrary to the nature of a true labor movement. Notwithstanding the vigor of their attack and the eloquence of their appeal, the convention expressed its confidence in Schweitzer's integrity and good management by a vote of 42 out of 56, fourteen delegates abstaining.

Nothing daunted, the Marxists called a congress, to which the Lassallians were invited, in order to settle differences and consolidate the Socialist forces into a party capable of presenting an undivided front to the enemy. This congress was held at Eisenach from the 7th to the 9th of August, 1869. It was attended by 263 delegates, representing about 300 associations with a total membership of 155,486 constituents, distributed over 135 localities in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. No agreement, however, could be reached with the Lassallians, who came in great numbers, but in no spirit of concilia-

tion. The Internationalists, therefore, constituted themselves into a party, called the "Social-Democratic Labor party," upon a platform divided into two parts, namely: 1—A declaration of principles, which was substantially and almost literally the same as that of the International Association; 2—A programme of demands, including universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret; the referendum and initiative principle of legislation; the abolition of all privileges attached to rank, property, birth and creed; the substitution of the armed nation for the permanent army; separation of church and state; compulsory and secular education; free justice, trial by jury, and reform of the courts with a view to their independence; liberty of the press; freedom of association and combination; the normal work day; limitation of the women's and prohibition of the children's labor; abolition of all indirect taxation, and the raising of all revenue by a progressive income tax and a tax on inheritance. With a view, no doubt, to the ultimate conciliation of the Lassallians, a demand was added for "government support of benefit societies, and public credit for free co-operative associations with democratic guarantees."

While it lasted, the Franco-German war (which broke out in the summer of 1870), by the drafts it made upon the wage-working population, checked the movement in that visible part of it which consisted in actual party membership, but rather quickened and intensified it otherwise by the terrible truths thus vividly brought home to the thoughtless minds. Shortly after the battle of Sedan—at which the French Emperor, held responsible for the conflict, was compelled to surrender his person and his army—the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic (Eisenach) party were arrested and imprisoned for having issued a manifesto to the German workingmen, protesting against the continuance of the war. The same position was taken in the Reichstag by Bebel and Liebknecht, who voted against any further appropriations; in consequence of which they and Hepner, in December, 1870, were also arrested on a charge of treason.

Immediately after the war, the newly established German Empire had to be put in working order by the election of an Imperial Parliament. The public sentiment was then stimulated to a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm and loyalty, and the government had no doubt that its persecution of the leading Internationalists would be universally approved, even by those who had previously sided with them at the ballot box; in other words, it fondly believed that Socialism had been killed by the "unpatriotic behavior" of its chief mouthpieces. The Social-Democrats, however, sorely disappointed the government and greatly astonished the country by casting 101,927 votes for their candidates, or three times as many as they had cast before the war. This piece of proletarian impudence, coming so closely upon the heels of "national glory," in violation of all historic precedents, was well nigh intolerable, and Bismarck's police was reminded of its duty. The police worked hard; it had all the work it could do suppressing meetings, escorting agitators to jail or out of town, and otherwise making itself and the government as odious as possible to the working people; so that, when the Social Democrats, three years later, cast 351,670 votes—or about three and a half times their previous number—the astonishment of the country, of Europe, of the world, and especially of the German government, increased in geometric ratio. It looked as if the German workingmen, with the same firmness they had shown, as dutiful soldiers, in accomplishing the political unity of the Fatherland against the French Emperor, had now set themselves to the task of accomplishing, as class-conscious men, their own emancipation from domestic tyrants.

New means of persecution were resorted to in various parts of the Empire, Bismarck giving the example of energetic action under the cover of the law, when possible, and by prompting the police in its assumptions of arbitrary powers when perchance legal tomfoolery was so evident that it did not afford a "better" method. In Prussia, availing itself of a statute enacted in 1850, when the reaction had triumphed over the revolutionary movement of 1848, the royal government dissolved the Lassallian organization, which however, managed to survive its official death. The Marxists, of course, were not treated with greater consideration, and every occasion was improved to harass their agitators and hinder their propaganda. From their press, however, both factions derived great strength, and it soon became known that the imperial government intended not only to muzzle it, but to destroy it, by demanding from the Reichstag a special provision against it in the proposed Imperial penal code, that was to be uniformly enforced throughout the Empire.

The effect of this vigorous "blood and iron policy" was quite unexpected. It united the Lassallians and the Marxists.

This union was effected at a congress, called by mutual agreement, which was held at Gotha from the 22d to the 27th of May, 1875, with an attendance of 125 delegates representing 25,659 fully qualified members. The Lassallians, tired of "presidents," readily agreed to a democratic organization of the party, with an executive board, subject in its management of affairs to the supervision of a Controlling Commission, and in its rulings to the decisions of a board of appeals. The hitherto separate organs of the two parties—namely, the "Social-Democrat" of Berlin, belonging to the Lassallians, and the "Volksstaat" of Leipzig, belonging to the Marxists—were amalgamated into one, which subsequently was entitled "Vorwärts."

In its mere wording the Gotha platform differed from the Eisenach programme just enough to satisfy men who, thinking exactly alike, desired to an end to personal differences of long standing by "mutual concessions." In everything else the two documents were absolutely the same. There had no doubt been a time when the Lassallians earnestly upheld their founder's scheme of State help in the establishment of co-operative production. But, knowing that any belief in its practicability would gradually become weaker in the light of economic and political developments, the Marxists themselves had not considered it a bar to union; and, as we have already stated, they had conceded to that scheme a plank in the Eisenach programme among their demands for measures of relief. This "concession," which had then proved of no effect as a means of conciliation, was again made at Gotha; but in accepting it this time the Lassallians evidently valued it far more as a token of friendship than for the intrinsic worth of the plank itself, in which they believed no more. The fact is that upon this point and some others—chiefly of a tactical nature but involving a true comprehension of fundamental principles and a correct understanding of the class struggle—a change had been brought about in the views of the Lassallians (as Hugo Vogt rightly observes) "by the agitation of the International, and the publication, in 1867, of Karl Marx's 'Capital,' which was at once recognized by the Lassallians as well as by the Marxists as the fundamental work of modern Socialism."

A separate resolution was adopted at Gotha, recognizing that under the capitalist system trade unionism was a necessity imposed upon the working men by the very nature of the class struggle, and declaring, therefore, that it was the duty of every wage worker to enter the union of his trade, with a view to combined resistance against degradation and combined action for improvement. This was of special importance; first, because of the efforts of the Progressists, through their agents in the economic organizations of labor, to keep these bodies on the very lines which we have here termed the lines of "pure-and-simplicid"; and secondly, because the Lassallians had underestimated the value of such economic organizations, if imbued with a Socialist spirit. Hereafter every Socialist would stand guard, in the economic as well as in the political field.

In January, 1876, the penal code being under consideration in the Reichstag, Bismarck introduced his amendment relating to the press, and urged its passage. It provided severe punishment by fine and imprisonment for "any person who in a manner endangering the public peace incited different classes of the population against one another or in like manner attacked the institutions of matrimony, family or property."

An overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, afraid to trust the Imperial government with the despotic power which it demanded with a verbal promise to use it only against the Socialists, but which it might also have used against other parties, declared itself against this scheme by vote and argument, on the ground that it would endanger the freedom of the entire press and that the penal code of the Empire contained sufficient provisions for the prevention or punishment of actual offenses.

Bismarck's disappointment was bitter. He had hoped that the Progressists, whose supporters among the proletariat were being steadily reduced in number by the inroads of Socialism, might be induced to cut their own throats by voting for this amendment. But, aware of the punishment with which they might be visited at the polls by that large portion of their constituencies which was still composed of wage workers if they fell into this Bismarckian trap—a punishment far greater to them than that which any law they might help to pass could inflict upon the Socialists—they took the lofty ground that a free press corrected its own abuses. Even the Centrists had apparently learned enough of the expanding properties of Socialism under pressure to make the value of punishment as a remedy to that great and peculiar evil.

Temporarily relieved of their worst apprehensions—although subject to a constantly increasing espionage and ill treatment against which they had no other redress than the light which their organs could cast upon the villainous proceedings of the authorities—the Social-Democrats, now thoroughly united, resumed agitation with tenfold energy. From 1875 to 1877 they increased the number of their papers from 11 to 41, of which 13 were issued daily, 13 semi-weekly, 12 weekly and 3 twice a month. There were besides 14 trade-union papers with outspoken Socialist tendencies.

But while the defeat of Bismarck in the Reichstag made their papers and agitation comparatively safe outside of Prussia, the Socialists remained exposed on Prussian territory to the provisions of the above mentioned law of 1850, which Bismarck was now determined to enforce against them with the utmost rigor. In March, 1876, an order was made by a Berlin court, declaring the Social-Democratic party unlawful, and prohibiting it within the boundaries of Prussia. The immediate result of this order was that the next Socialist Congress could not be held as a congress of the "party"; in order to enable the Prussian Socialists to send delegates, a "general congress of Socialists" was called. This body met at Gotha in August, 1876, and reconstructed the organization of the party by formally severing all connections between the local organizations and the central committee. But it was understood that in each locality only one member (a trusted one, who would be, in fact, though not in name, the representative of his local organization) would be in communication with the central committee, and that the old relations would thus be substantially kept up. For the purpose of collecting in Prussia monies for the central fund, a monthly leaflet, called "The Elector," was issued and sold at a price equivalent to the amount elsewhere paid as party dues. Thus did the Socialists meet and defeat Bismarck on his selected ground of legal chicanery.

A few months later—January, 1877—they met him at the polls and defeated him in still grander style. They cast 486,843 votes; an increase of 135,792 since 1874. In Berlin, the capital of the Empire, the heart of Prussia, and the center of persecution, their vote was tripled, rising from 11,500 in 1874 to 31,494 in 1877. The party carried 12 seats, two of them in Berlin.

(To be Continued.)

* At this election, despite the great increase of the Socialist vote, and owing to peculiar circumstances chiefly arising from the formation of the new electoral districts, there were only Socialist elected in the Lassallian wing, and none of the Eisenach wing. But in 1874, nine delegates were elected, only 3 of the Lassallian and 6 of the Eisenach wing. It may here be observed that the two factions, though carrying on a very bitter fight against each other, did not allow their hostilities to interfere with their agitation; on the contrary, their antagonism existed rather as a stimulus, spurring on each faction to its utmost exertions.

FOR THE 100,000.

Address to Trade and Labor Unions of Illinois by State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.

To the Trade and Labor Unions of Illinois.

The Illinois State Committee of the Socialist Labor party sends fraternal greetings, and desires to call your attention to the condition of the working class, also to discuss with you the means whereby this class may lift itself from its present miserable and precarious condition into that one which by right belongs to it.

That the condition of the working class taken as a whole is steadily growing worse, no intelligent and observant man will deny; that this should be so despite the admirable energy and abnegation displayed by the workers in organizing themselves in the face of a hostile employing class, is well calculated to cause reflection in the man having the interests of his class at heart. We have just seen the Miners' Union defeated, after a prolonged fight, in which the men displayed qualities of solidarity, courage and self-denial which stamp them heroes. All this grand energy and grim determination were, we might say, wasted, or worse yet, for after the struggle the mine owners are more powerful than ever, and the mine workers' heartsore, wearied and poverty-stricken, are more than ever at their mercy.

Now, how is it possible for men animated with the magnificent spirit displayed by the miners to be so signally defeated? Might it not be that the tactics employed by their union—in common with all other unions—are lacking in some essential? Surely, yes, for the record of the last few years is one of continued defeat. The Socialist Labor party holds that the most fruitful and grandest victories will perch on the standard of the working class as soon as the working class, abandoning the tactics which met with a certain measure of apparent success when capitalism was in its infancy, shall make use of correct tactics—of tactics in harmony with the economic conditions of the day. As well might our ancestors, with their bows and arrows, attack our regulars of to-day with their repeating rifles, as for organized labor to attack capitalism in 1870 with the arms of 1830.

To those who observe things closely it is glaringly apparent that the whole power of government is arrayed on the side of the capitalist class. The capitalist class may most eloquently proclaim the contrary; the facts are there to give them the lie. Why is this? The Socialist Labor party says because the working class does not make a proper use of that most effective weapon, the ballot. To-day the capitalist class is supreme, and it brooks no opposition to this supremacy, which is built on the ballots of the working class. The workers outnumber the capitalists ten to one. Why should they vote into political power the class whose economic power their unions are organized to fight? Let the workers unite politically as they unite economically, and for them the word defeat will have lost its meaning. But when they enter the political arena they must be fully alive to the fact that just as in the economic field, it is the working class against the capitalist class—in a word, that it is a class fight all along the line.

Fellow workingmen, we appeal to you in the name of the sacred cause of Labor to take note of this communication, and to discuss with us the point:

"CAN THE WORKING CLASS BETTER ITS ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WITHOUT BEING POLITICALLY ORGANIZED?"

From discussion comes light, and if ever light was needed it is now.

With fraternal greetings,

THE ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE,

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

—everything in our modern society is tinged with capitalism. The working men, so long as they are unconscious of their class, adopt these laws, morals, manners, customs, etc., as their own. It is only when the bulk of the population is embraced in the class of workingmen that they begin to look upon themselves as members of a different society—the working class—with laws, manners, customs, morale, principles, etc., which are different from those of the old society—capitalism.

Thus we have at present two different societies with different institutions, laws, manners, etc., the result of certain material conditions surrounding these societies. One is that of capitalism, in which we live for the last generations, and which has now outlived its usefulness. The other is that of Socialism, which is rapidly replacing the former as the result of the bitter conflict

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PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.

NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Bandow, 155 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

General Arbitration Fund.

Previously acknowledged..... \$366.18

Proceeds of "Peter Weber's Party," Utica, N. Y. 1.00

On list No. 5, per Section Blair

County, Pa. 2.55

Total \$370.03

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

P. S.—Lists for the General Agitation Fund can be procured from the secretary, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York City.

Alabama.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 20.—On the evening of February 10th, Comrade B. E. Kehard arrived in this city. He immediately addressed a large crowd of workingmen, at the corner of Nineteenth street and Second avenue, arousing an intense interest which resulted in an increased attendance the following evening.

Closing the open-air meetings Saturday night with an announcement of a meeting to be held Sunday afternoon, at 2:30, at Bricklayers' Hall, 212 North Twentieth street. The meeting was well attended. Fakirs and spies were in evidence, but were promptly subdued. Comrade Kehard addressed the audience, explaining the organization, and took for his subject: "Why Socialist Officials Will not Betray their Constituents."

At the conclusion he invited those who desired to enlist themselves in the ranks of the S. L. P. to come forward to sign the application for a charter; 19 members were enrolled. Comrade Kehard called the newly organized section to order. Comrade H. R. Engel was nominated and unanimously elected chairman by acclamation.

The following officers were elected: Organizer, C. L. Engel; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Geo. Lasker; Financial Secretary, C. E. Elliott; Treasurer, D. Varouli; Literary Agent, H. R. Engel.

Thanks to the National Executive Committee for sending to us so able a young-Socialist as Comrade Kehard, to whom we are indebted for the organization of Section Birmingham.

GEO. LASKER.

Canada.

LONDON, Ont., Feb. 22.—Canada's national day Socialists nominate Comrade Ashplant, city of London, to Ontario Legislative Assembly; first in dominion of Canada.

New York.

Section Greater N. Y.—At its last session Julius Dolinski was suspended for one year.

The result of three referendum votes in the Section were announced:

1st—The general vote on a motion to withdraw the delegates of the Section from D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A. The motion was defeated; 702 votes were cast. In its favor 235 and 467 against.

The tabulated returns on these two votes will be published in the next issue.

3d—The general vote on a motion to expel Gillis. The motion was carried by 413 against 9.

Free lectures by James Allman to be held at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73d street, beginning at 8 o'clock p. m.

Mar. 1—"The Co-operative Commonwealth." 1.15.

Socialist Labor Party, 18th Assembly District of Greater New York. Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 351 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City.

Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 27—"Conflicting Social Dynamics." Lecturer, James Allman. Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m.

New York Socialist Literary Society. Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, at the Club Rooms, 100 Clinton street, New York City. Free to everybody.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 27—"The Origin of Government." Lecturer, N. I. Stone.

J. REICH, Lecture Agent.

Young Men's Socialist Educational h. 16th Assembly District, S. L. P. Lectures to the people at the Club 18 Avenue C. Popular course lay. Programme for Feb

Proletariat." A. S.

y Wednesday:

of Socialism."

Society.

3d—

Walter's Alliance Liberty reported having issued subscription lists for the New Bedford strikers to its branches.

is the opinion of the union that the members of the Workmen's Education Association should join their on.

Greater New York, S. L. P.

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 9th, 1898.

\$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to February 9th, 1898, incl.:

Previously acknowledged..... \$237.76
J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa., \$5; C. L. Furman, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$10; Andrew McLeod, Marietta, Wash., \$10; State Committee S. L. P., Conn., \$17. 200.00

Total..... \$2517.76

■ Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE

184 William St., N. Y.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

27th Secretary: Peter Staple.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 38 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Association No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 35th St. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 12 o'clock noon. Fred Hartmann, Pres.; Fred Wall, Secy. 50 E. 4th St. J. S. Kline, Business Agent.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of the Essex County Socialist Club, 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P., meets 2d and 4th Sunday of every month at 10 o'clock a.m. at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East 23d St., New York. Subscription orders taken for the Skandinavian Weekly, SCAND. AM. ALBERTAEN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th St. 35th A. D., S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 10th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M.

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Chicago, Ill.

22—For addresses of the Branch bookkeepers see "Vorwärts".

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Address all communications to Harry Marx, Financial Secretary, 35-37 Frankfort St., Room 88, New York, N. Y.

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